/29 cont./

854 855 165 [164] [535] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. [828] A Mbüá from Xapecó told me that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because [751] of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

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considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

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881 During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have
[824] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go
[171] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Bra-
[352] zilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

178 /93 cont./
881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

12 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupã with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

2: Schaden--201 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

751 177 237 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

789 177 [DMG]

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 [184] [191] I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

Guarani 814

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*136 the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that
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[751 these insects are not only driven away but de-
356 stroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs
805] scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered pervious to frequent winds; these are the best precautions against the smaller insects. Lice are
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[515 never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
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CHAPTER XXX.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE POISONOUS BITES OF INSECTS.

OLD books suggest various methods of keeping away serpents: but who that is acquainted with America would not despise the prescriptions of the old writers, adapted to fill pages only, not to be of any real use? In preference to these ancient recipes I recommend the American ones, both because they are more expeditious and readier, and because their utility has been proved by long experience. The Christian Guaranies, whenever they accompanied me to seek the savages in the woods, carried fresh garlick in their girdles, and, notwithstanding the abundance of serpents we met, not one of my companions was ever bitten by one. Following the example of the Indians, I always kept a string of garlick suspended near my bed, after being attacked by a serpent in my sleep. That serpents dislike the smell of garlick is well known both to the ancients and to country people, who rub the milk-pans with the juice of that herb, lest serpents, who are extremely fond of milk, should get into them. My faith, however, in the efficacy of garlick was not a little